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E.O. 12356:N/A

TAGS: PINR, PREF, PHUM, EAID

SUBJECT: INR ASSESSMENT - RWANDA: LOOKING HOMEWARD FROM
THE ABYSS

"ROME FOR CHACON AND ALSO FOR VATICAN, LONDON FOR
MC KINLEY, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, MADRID FOR CLARKE,
PARIS FOR PERLOW, USNATO FOR FOX, BONN FOR KLEMP,

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
DATE/CASE ID: 05 MAY 2011 201005065

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1. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE - ENTIRE TEXT

2. INR'S 7/19/94 ASSESSMENT ENTITLED "RWANDA: LOOKING
HOMEWARD FROM THE ABYSS" IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR
INFORMATION AND COMMENT, AS APPROPRIATE.

BEGIN TEXT

3. AS BAD AS THE RWANDA/ZAIRE REFUGEE CRISIS IS NOW, IT
WILL WORSEN OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS UNLESS MANY
REFUGEES RETURN HOME. AS YOU KNOW, CONDITIONS FOR THE
UP TO 1.5 MILLION REFUGEES IN GOMA AND BUKAVU ARE
UNTENABLE, EVEN IF LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FUNCTIONS AT
MAXIMUM EFFICIENCY. IN ADDITION TO THE STRUGGLE TO KEEP
REFUGEES ALIVE AND PREVENT FURTHER DESTABILIZATION ALONG
RWANDA'S BORDERS, THE UN-LED RELIEF AGENCIES MUST
PERSUADE THE RPF AND HUTU REFUGEES THAT A RETURN FOR THE
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SEPTEMBER PLANTING IS CRITICAL. IN ABOUT A MONTH,
SEASONAL RAINS WILL BEGIN WHICH WILL MAKE REPATRIATION
AND OVERLAND RELIEF SUPPLY ROUTES EVEN MORE DIFFICULT.
THIS MEMO DISCUSSES THE FEASIBILITY AND CONTEXT FOR
REPATRIATION.

4. AS THE RPF CONSOLIDATES ITS VICTORY, ITS MAIN
CONCERNS WILL BE THE POSSIBILITY OF COUNTERATTACK FROM
FORCES REGROUPING IN ZAIRE AND REMNANT HUTU FORCES
REMAINING IN THE FRENCH SECURE ZONE AND ELSEWHERE. RPF
LEADERS PROBABLY FEAR THAT AN UNCONTROLLED REFUGEE
REPATRIATION WILL ALLOW BACK IN THOSE WHO WILL WAGE A
GUERILLA WAR AGAINST THE NEW GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY IN
THE NORTHWEST. AS A NEW REGIME, WHOSE BASE OF SUPPORT
WAS SMALL EVEN BEFORE GENOCIDAL MASSACRES REDUCED THE
NUMBER OF TUTSIS IN RWANDA TO PERHAPS AS LOW AS 200,000
THE RPF GOVERNMENT CANNOT AFFORD TO RELAX ITS GRIP ON
SECURITY. MOREOVER, TO BOLSTER ITS HARD-WON LEGITIMACY,
THE RPF WILL INSIST THAT SENIOR EX-GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS
AND THE THOUSANDS WHO PARTICIPATED IN MASSACRES BE
PUNISHED.

5. KURDISH MODEL. THE MOST RECENT EXODUS OF THIS
MAGNITUDE AND URGENCY WAS THE APRIL 1991 FLIGHT OF

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500,000 KURDS TO THE MOUNTAINOUS TURKISH BORDER. LIKE THE KURDS, HUTUS CONTINUE TO BE PANICKED INTO A MASS EXODUS BY FEARS OF BEING MASSACRED. WITHIN SIX WEEKS, THE KURDS WERE PERSUADED, WITH ASSURANCES BY U.S.-LED ASSISTANCE AND PROTECTION, TO RETURN TO A NORTHERN IRAQ SECURE ZONE.

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6. APART FROM THE NECESSITY OF PROMPT REPATRIATION IN BOTH CASES, RWANDA IS EVEN MORE POLITICALLY AND LOGISTICALLY PROBLEMATIC THAN NORTHERN IRAQ. UNLIKE THE IRAQI REGIME IN 1991, THE RPF TODAY IS A VICTORIOUS, NOT A DEFEATED POWER, AND WILL NOT BE COERCED INTO ACCEPTING REPATRIATION CONDITIONS SUCH AS THOSE IMPOSED ON SADDAM. THEIR DISTRUST OF THE FRENCH WILL ALSO MAKE THEM RELUCTANT TO PERMIT CONTINUANCE OF THE PRESENT SECURE ZONE, EVEN IF IT IS UNAMIR ENFORCED. THE RPF HAS LEGITIMATE FEARS OF BEING ABLE TO CONTROL THE LARGE HUTU POPULATION ALREADY DISPLACED IN THE COUNTRY, NOT TO MENTION THE ALMOST 2 MILLION NOW IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THUS, THE RPF WILL NEED STEADY REASSURANCE, FINANCIAL SUPPORT, AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SECURE ITS CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION IN REPATRIATION.

7. REPATRIATION IMPERATIVE. CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR SAFE REPATRIATION WILL REQUIRE CONCERTED, SUSTAINED MULTILATERAL EFFORTS. BOTH THE HUTU REFUGEES AND THE TUTSI-DOMINATED RPF NEED TO BE CONVINCED THAT REPATRIATION IS IN THEIR MUTUAL INTEREST, A DIFFICULT CHALLENGE GIVEN THEIR DEEP DISTRUST OF EACH OTHER AND THE SEVERITY OF THE CURRENT CRISIS.

8. A REFUGEE-FOCUSED EFFORT MUST ENTAIL:

--STABILIZING THE REFUGEE POPULATION AND SAVING LIVES THROUGH THE SUBSTANTIALLY BEEFED-UP PROVISION OF FOOD, SHELTER, CLEAN WATER, AND BASIC HEALTH SERVICES (A TASK MANY RELIEF WORKERS IN THE AREA FEEL MAY BE IMPOSSIBLE)

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--SECURING THE BORDER REGION AND ENSURING THAT CAMPS IN ZAIRE DO NOT BECOME STAGING GROUNDS FOR A COUNTERATTACK AGAINST THE RPF;

--CREATING INCENTIVES FOR REPATRIATION BY DEVELOPING "RETURN KITS" AND ASSURING POTENTIAL RETURNEES THAT HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS AND PEACEKEEPERS WILL BE DEPLOYED IN RWANDA; AND

--WORKING WITH "NEUTRAL" REFUGEE LEADERS WHO WOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE REPATRIATION CONDITIONS WITH RPF OFFICIALS.

9. MOST OF THESE ELEMENTS NEED ALSO BE APPLIED TO

DISPLACED PERSONS LIVING IN CAMP CONDITIONS IN EASTERN RWANDA.

10. AN INTERNALLY-FOCUSED EFFORT MUST ENTAIL:

--STATING CLEARLY TO THE RPF THAT ANY FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PACKAGE WILL BE LINKED WITH PROGRESS ON SAFE REPATRIATION;

--PRESSING THE RPF TO INVITE IN A STRONG UN-LED PEACEKEEPING, HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING, AND RELIEF EFFORT WITH UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY;

--ENCOURAGING RPF OFFICIALS TO UNDERTAKE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND PERMIT UNIMPEDED RELIEF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DISTRIBUTION FOR THE HUTU MAJORITY POPULATION, AND;

--EMPHASIZING TO THE RPF THE IMPORTANCE OF ALLOWING DISPLACED PERSONS TO RETURN SAFELY TO THEIR VILLAGES FROM RPF-RUN CAMPS.

11. BACK TO THE FARM. UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE UN DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS, THE UNHCR SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN REPATRIATION PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION. UNHCR OFFICIALS SHOULD ORGANIZE FACT-FINDING AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING TRIPS TO AREAS IN RWANDA, ESPECIALLY IN THE NORTHWEST, WITH SELECTED REFUGEE REPRESENTATIVES. THE UNHCR MUST ALSO OVERSEE

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ANY REPATRIATION SCREENING PROGRAM TO ENSURE THAT THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MASSACRES DO NOT SLIP BACK IN. AN URGENT PRIORITY FOR ALL THOSE INVOLVED IN REPATRIATION IS TO GET RWANDANS BACK ON THEIR FARMS FOR THE NEXT PLANTING. DECONTROLLED/UNCLASSIFIED

12. REPATRIATION WILL REQUIRE A SIGNIFICANT TRIAGE-TYPE REDIRECTION OF FOOD FROM BORDER AREAS TO THE OVER FOUR MILLION RWANDANS STILL RESIDING IN THE COUNTRY (MAYY OF WHOM ARE IN RPF CAMPS), AS WELL AS ENOUGH TO ENTICE BACK THE OVER TWO MILLION NOW OUTSIDE. THE CURRENT CRISIS IS REGIONAL IN SCOPE AND ANY EFFORT TO CONTAIN IT WILL REQUIRE AN ATTEMPT TO SHIFT THE MOMENTUM INWARD. WITHOUT SUCH A DELIBERATE STRATEGY, THE DENSELY POPULATED AND ETHNICALLY VOLATILE BORDER AREAS IN EASTERN ZAIRE AND NORTHERN BURUNDI WILL SOON ERUPT IN VIOLENCE. TARNOFF

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